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ABSTRACT

The Equal Educational Opportunity Workshop for Human Rights Workers focused on the theme "Equal Educational Opportunity--What Does It Mean to the Human Rights Worker? A Deep Examination of Professional Commitment." Most school systems and educational institutions have human rights specialists devoting staff time and resources to race and culture-related problems; yet progress towards equal educational opportunity is slow. Professionals at this workshop examined the progress and the necessary commitment of the professional human rights worker in the desegregation program setting. Several general sessions were held, and following them were simultaneous small group workshop sessions. This report contains excerpts from the small group workshops and covers topics such as: (1) strengthening personal skills in recognizing culturally based bias impediments to optimum professional function in desegregation programs; (2) an exploration of major intergroup relations issues in desegregation programs and related problems in personal interaction; (3) cultural shock as it occurs in situations of enforced inter-cultural intimacy at the initiation of school desegregation; and, (4) an informal psycho-social assessment of various school desegregation techniques. Many of the speeches presented at the workshop are reprinted here. (SB)

ED 061 370

# EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

## SPECIAL REPORT

### EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY WORKSHOP FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS

Seattle, Washington, October 3-7, 1971

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## NCRIEEO

The National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity (NCRIEEO), provides access to an enormous body of reusable experience and usable information contained, often buried, in an infinite variety of documents. Included are many documents readily available, having been published in well advertised and celebrated books, journals, and reports. Many others are much less available and of limited circulation even among those who would find them most useful. Still others are furtive, sometimes "underground" documents, unavailable to the general reader or educator and hard to come by for almost all readers. These speeches, private reports, proposals, program descriptions, status reports, and memoranda contain much information which would be of great value to those concerned with "quality " education and with the prognosis for American public education in general – if they were readily available. The analysis and synthesis of such information on desegregation in public education from all sources is abstracted, indexed, summarized, evaluated, and made easily available through the National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity.

The Center offers to community leaders, practitioners, students and scholar of the educational process, access to the wisdom and insights of an army of practitioners, scholars and advocates who, for decades, have given frustrated attention to racially-based education problems.

Direct inquiries to:

NCRIEEO
Box 40
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

(212) 870-4804,5

Effie M. Bynum, M.A.
Assistant Director for Program

Edmund W. Gordon, Ed. D.
Director

Wendell J. Roye, M.S.
Assistant Director for Dissemination

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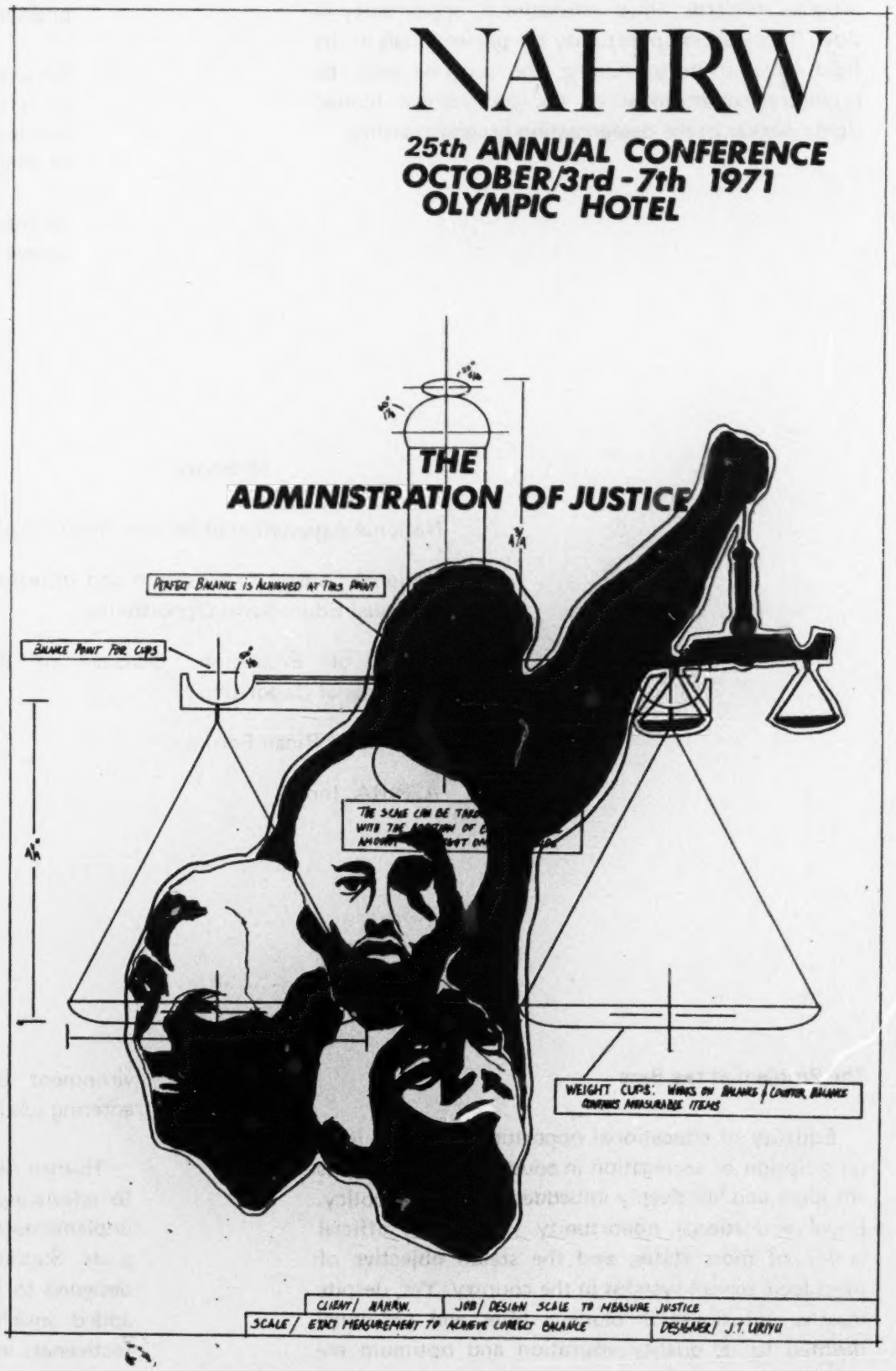
## THE CONTEXT

The Equal Educational Opportunity Workshop for Human Rights Workers was one of many professional development activities at **The 25th Annual Conference of The National Association of Human Rights Workers.** NAHRW is the professional association of those individuals who work in professional capacities for, and those who serve on the Boards and Commissions of governmental or private agencies, organizations, or instititutions in the fields of human rights, civil liberties, intercultural education, community relations and intergroup relations. It is to them what the American Association of University Professors is to college teachers. Founded as The National Association of Intergroup Officials (NAIRO) in 1947, the name of the association was changed to National Association of Human Rights Workers in 1970. The association accepted the responsibility of advancing intergroup relations practice and furthering acceptance of goals and principles of intergroup relations work.

Other Workshops and Professional Explorations at this 25th Annual Conference focused upon such subjects as Mental Health and Human Relations, Housing, Community Organization, Justice in Law Enforcement, Women's Liberation and Human Rights, Affirmative Action Programs and Issues, and Case Study Dialogues.

**Jack Middleton** is President of The National Association of Human Rights Workers for the year 1971-72. The association's address is 142 Sylvan Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut 06519.

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**E.E.O. WORKSHOP THEME:**

Equal Educational Opportunity – What Does It Mean to the Human Rights Worker? A Deep Examination of Professional Commitment.

Most school systems and educational institutions have human rights specialists devoting staff time and resources to race and culture-related problems, yet progress towards equal educational opportunity is slow. This was an opportunity for professionals in the field to join in examining the progress and the necessary commitment of the professional human rights worker in the desegregation program setting.

**Workshop Objectives:**

- Strengthening personal skills in recognizing culturally based bias impediments to optimum professional functioning in desegregation programs.
- An exploration of major intergroup relations issues in desegregation programs and related problems in personal interaction.
- An examination of aspects of "cultural shock" as it occurs in situations of enforced inter-cultural (inter-ethnic) intimacy at the initiation of school desegregation.
- An informal psycho-social assessment of various school desegregation techniques.

**Sponsors**

National Association of Human Rights Workers

National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity

Office of Education, Division of Equal Educational Opportunity

The Puerto Rican Forum

ASPIRA, Inc.

**The Problem at the Base**

Equality of educational opportunity and the legal proscription of segregation in educational institutions are ideas and law deeply imbedded in national policy. Equal educational opportunity is also the official policy of most states, and the stated objective of most local school systems in the country. Yet, despite massive infusions of money, time and personnel devoted to it, quality education and optimum environment for learning is an experience few children entering school this year will ever enjoy.

Human rights workers in education are committed to advancing their clientele to the acceptance and implementation of these legal and morally supported goals. Success has been limited. The Workshop was designed to help the human rights professional gain added insights which may improve individual effectiveness in the education section of American life.



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## SPEAKERS AND GENERAL SESSIONS

There were four brief General Sessions. At three general sessions there was one speaker each. The object of each speaker was to be discussion provoking, without detail or emphasis upon a specific geographic or political locale. Speakers were experienced, active and knowledgeable human relations specialists.

Wendell J. Roye, Assistant Director, National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity (NCRIEEO) and Workshop Coordinator.

*Commitment -- Effects of its strength or weakness upon Equal Educational Opportunity Programs.*

Luis Nieves, Executive Director, Aspira. Inc.

*The Second Message — The unconscious communication of attitudes and intent by individuals and institutions.*

At one general session, the third representative members of several ethnic minorities made personal statements on the implications of Equal Educational Opportunity to them. "Ethnic"representatives were Seattle residents.

**BLACK** **Warren Burton,** EEO Consultant, Washington State Office of Public Instruction.

**CHICANO** **Frank Trevino,** Eastern Washington Field Representative, Washington State Human Rights Commission.

**INDIAN** **Philip A. LaCourse,** Counselor and Assistant in Indian Division of Educational Opportunities Program, University of Washington Minority Affairs Office. He is a third year law student, currently on leave.

**WASP** **Catherine DeHaas,** Senior in Electrical Engineering, University of Washington.

**Dr. Edmund Gordon,** Chairman, Guidance Department, Teachers College, Columbia University and Director, The National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity.

**Equality of Educational Opportunity: Is It Possible in Our Lifetime?**

## GROUP WORKSHOP SESSIONS

There were simultaneous small group workshop sessions immediately after each general session. Group registration was limited to fifteen members.

Each group focused upon a stated objective of the Workshop. The objective permitted extensive overlapping of discussion content and direction.

Each group had a Discussion Leader whose primary function was to insist upon adherence to two basic and necessary "rules":

1. discussion should remain on the subject
2. sessions must begin and end on time

Participants spent a minimum of six hours in the workshops, spread over three days, plus inestimable corridor caucus hours.

Workshop #1 Discussion Leader: James E. Peeples, Director, Human Relations Commission, Peoria, Illinois.

Training Objectives: Strengthening personal skills in recognizing culturally based bias impediments to optimum professional function in desegregation program.

Workshop #2 Discussion Leader: Dr. Morton J. Sobel, New York State Education Department.

Training Objectives: An exploration of major intergroup relations issues in desegregation programs and related problems in personal interaction.

Workshop #3 Discussion Leader: Edwin S. Jorge, Assistant Director, The Puerto Rican Forum.

Training Objectives: An examination of aspects of "cultural shock" as it occurs in situations of enforced inter-cultural (inter-ethnic) intimacy at the initiation of school desegregation.

Workshop #4 Discussion Leader: Donald Hadfield, Consultant, EEO Section Division of Planning and Development, Department of Education, Minnesota.

Training Objectives: An informal psycho-social assessment of various school desegregation techniques.

## WORKSHOP EXCERPTS

Discussion in Workshop # 1 and Workshop # 2 paralleled so closely that excerpts are presented together.

. . . Skills . . . **Workshop# 1**

A last minute emergency prevented the scheduled Workshop Leader, Ron Edmonds, from participating. JAMES E. PEEPLES, director, **Human Relations Commission, Peoria, Illinois,** substituted ably as discussion leader for the workshop on, **Strengthening personal skills in recognizing culturally based bias impediments to optimum professional functioning in desegregation programs.** This was a particularly popular workshop. Although attempts were made to keep the number of participants to fifteen or less, twenty-one enrolled for it and several highly vocal unregistered individuals sat in. As the excerpts indicate, the exchange dealt with not only skills, orientation, and the transfer of human rights skills, but also with attitudes deemed necessary for achieving healthy integration in the classroom, and with related human rights strategies.

. . . Issues . . . **Workshop# 2**

DR. MORTON J. SOBEL, Specialist in Educational Integration, **New York State Education Department,** was discussion leader for the workshop on, **An exploration of major intergroup relations issues in desegregation programs and related problems in personal interaction.** Miss Juanita Griffin, the scheduled leader, became ill enroute to Seattle and could not attend.

*... One of the great failures in our classrooms today is the lack of ability of the classroom teachers to relate well with the students. That's miserable failure. It isn't the lack of knowledge of the academic discipline, it's the inability of the teacher to relate well with people of the community, with one another, and certainly with the students....*

*... I recommend to those who work in state departments of education...get on the good side of your school's superintendent...be sure he's sold on the idea...*

*... There are two routes through which you may change teacher certification practices...(1) The legislative route, which I certainly recommend that you avoid. You're only to find that those legislators who are from these insulated, all-white communities are reluctant to bring this issue to the legislative body. (2) If your chief state school officer has the power, through administrative implementation, to change teacher certification, as they do in the state of Wisconsin, that's the easy route. But be sure you have the goodwill of that officer...*

*... You will admit that there are people, especially in certain communities, who do not relate well with anyone. There are those teachers in certain communities in the inner-city schools who think, "I'm teaching in this Black school and they can't read." They don't understand. They don't know how to get along with parents if they have a PTA meeting. We intend to show them that these are human beings, that they possess certain qualities that should be understood.*

*... We feel that every teacher in the state should have some training in human relations or intergroup relations because, I again repeat, that's the failure in the classrooms in this country today. People come into these classrooms and say, "These are the unteachables." They call them everything — "Deprived" "Disadvantaged", and say "Don't know how" etc. They go in there with this psychological disadvantage saying that they can't be taught. I am one of those advocates who says this, we can survive in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle. Say to the children, "You are not the villains. If you can manage to survive you have a certain amount of intelligence, so you can be taught....*

*... I still maintain that the kid that goes to the third grade is in trouble for the rest of his life. I feel that why should you expect him to read any better when he's in the 10th, 11th, or 12th grade...He's finished after he finished the second grade...it's time for us to stop so much testing and do more teaching....*

*... Why didn't we have more representatives from the Office of Education at a conference of Human Rights workers?...This is a ridiculous kind of situation. This is where it is...*

*... What they need to do is sue some state boards not the schools and districts. They are the ones who certify the teachers. They are the ones who hand out the state funds....*

*... I submit that the kind of behavorial attitudes that you're after is really a by-product of the process of social conditions and is reinforced by all our social*

*institutions in this society. Not only is it reinforced by all the social institutions, it is particularly reinforced by the educational institution. If you buy this, then I must ask you what impact will it have to have teachers go through a course, two courses, or three courses in human relations, when you're not really dealing with a problem that can be attacked by traditional educational means....*

*... These people...should go and do some internship before receiving that degree, live in the community...do some internship in these schools too, so they can understand and see the life styles of people with whom they are going to work....*

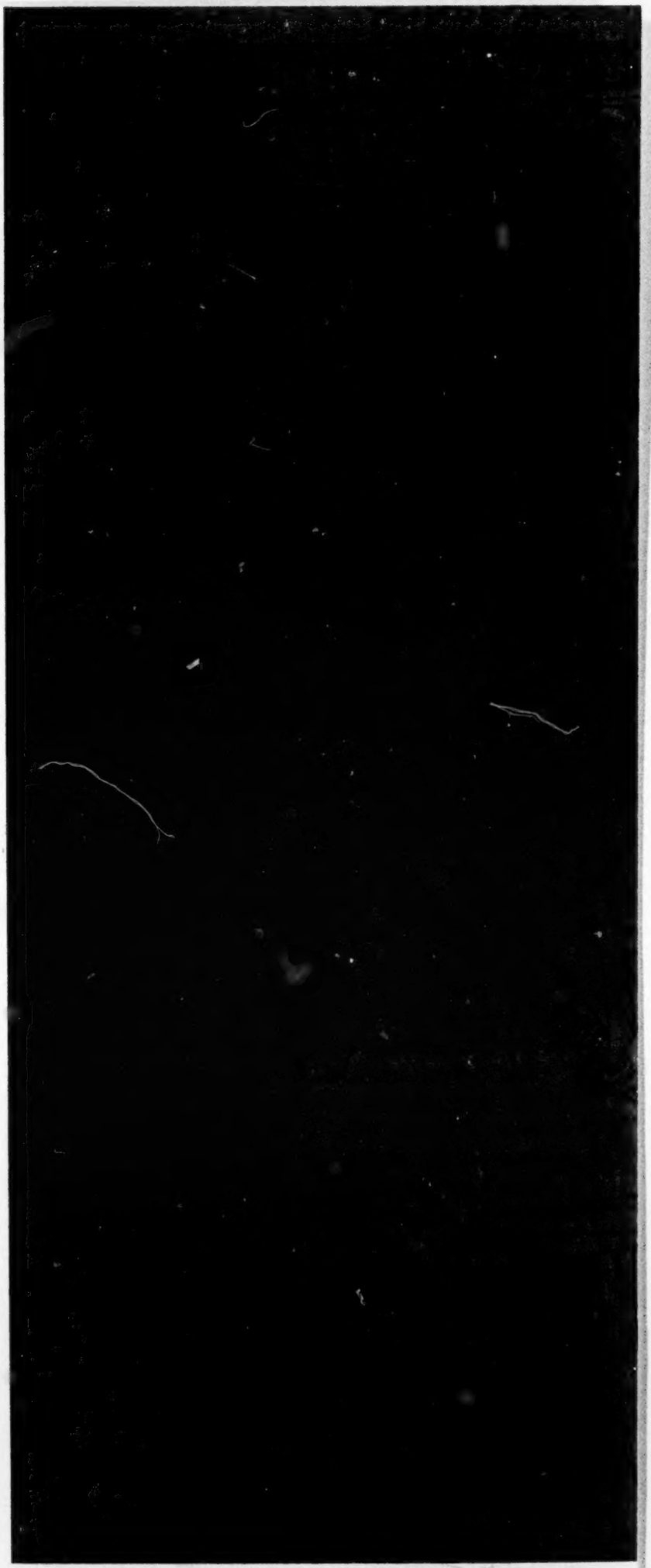
*... I am not speaking exclusively of Blacks. In Madison, we have less than 800 Blacks in the public schools. I think about places like Codalene, where Indians are still going to poor reservation schools...If your superintendent is behind this kind of thing,... and what superintendent is objecting to this kind of certification?....*

*... Let's talk about monitoring real quick. I think that's the key word here. The state of California hires more inter-group educators than any other state in the union, and part of their job is to do just what you've been telling us...that you're now doing in Wisconsin. The sick part about it is that we cannot control that racist-pig-hearted person. After they go through the training, they sit there and "Yes ma'am" and "No ma'am" you. They get into a classroom. Beyond that point we have no control for what that person does in the classroom. In terms of that person's racism, we have no monitor system...can we extend it so we can deal with these people after they graduate and become certified?....*

*... Rather than human relations training for teachers coming out of the institutions of higher learning, rather than human relations training in the institutions themselves, do you think that perhaps training that develops and creates change in the educational system itself...might be a more vital way to go?....*

*... New York University is developing a doctoral degree in human relations; what it's really doing is turning out change agents. The Claremont Colleges in California are doing the same thing...The University of Oregon is starting to do the same thing...The University of Michigan is doing this change agent thing in education. ...Along with working on the human relations aspect of certification, one of the things that you could be doing with the universities is developing programs for change agents in education....*

*... There is a different strategy if you are going the change agent route....*



*... We begin to question whether training is a key thing, unless we have some control built into the training programs....*

EDWIN S. JORGE, Assistant Executive Director, **Puerto Rican Forum,** convened Workshop #3. To add focus and depth to the exchange, he presented a statement, **Culture Shock and the Puerto Rican.** The freewheeling discussion that followed centered on the content and implications of the paper. Mr. Jorge's statement is presented here in its entirety. It emerged as a coherent exposition of concerns central to Puerto Ricans, but with very general relevance. This workshop was also oversubscribed, as it attracted many human rights specialists working for and with Spanish-speaking populations.

## WHAT IS CULTURE SHOCK?

Culture shock is the effect that immersion in a strange culture has on the *unprepared* visitor...Culture shock is what happens when the familiar psychological cues that help an individual function in society are suddenly withdrawn and replaced by new ones that are strange or incomprehensible." This is how Alvin Toffler, author of "Future Shock" describes culture shock.

The effects of culture shock are mainly psychological, reaching into every aspect of a newcomer's life. In confronting his new environment, he receives messages from every direction which he perceives as a chaotic whole. That is why he is totally unable to discern the patterns of this new society, patterns which he must discover and follow haphazardly until he can understand them and see them in a proper context.

The first reaction of the *unprepared visitor* is of total disorientation. He is unable, literally and figuratively, to read the signs. He is as unable to follow directions leading to the comfort station in the airport as he is to discern the mechanism, the values and motives which make his co-worker behave in a certain manner differently than his own.

He is yet to experience the loneliness of the individual among the city crowds. He is yet to be in need among the surrounding abundance. He is yet to respond to the cue words which trigger this society: MONEY, JOB, BIG.

He feels left to his own resources, which are not always related to the new environment and its rules. He undergoes a certain "liberation of instincts" even a certain moral laxity, perhaps as a reaction to his own culture. In other words, he feels he can act regardless of his former behavioral codes and the new ones which he does not know yet.

He has to be able to feel his way into intimate contact with the new alien values and attitudes he has just encountered. He must be able to work with them and within them, neither losing his own values in the confrontation nor isolating himself behind a wall of intellectual and/or social detachment. He has to know this and he has to know how to know it. But we find he doesn't know how to learn. This experience is usually productive of a good deal of anxiety and depression. These are symptoms which remain with the *unprepared visitor* during the time of this initial confrontation with the 'other' culture, or until he is *prepared* to cope and move at ease within the given structure.

## THE PUERTO RICAN AND CULTURE SHOCK

When a Puerto Rican from a small town in the mountains decides to take the big leap and come to "Nueva York", he boards a plane at Isla Verde airport and in three hours or so he has not only traveled in space but also in time. He has probably moved a century ahead. He has stepped into a new and strange world for which he is totally unprepared. He does not understand the language, the values, the attitudes and reactions of the people among whom he is to work, learn and live.

The Puerto Rican arriving from the city is perhaps better prepared for this encounter. Nevertheless, there is still a good deal of learning which he needs to do before he can adapt his skills to operate across the cultural barriers.

This new *unprepared* or *semi-prepared* visitor cannot stop at knowing that the people he will be working with have different customs, goals and thought patterns from his own. In the majority of cases he will not know this, or rather will not be able to discern this.

Perhaps one of the reasons why the Puerto Rican seems to suffer from culture shock for a longer period of time than other immigrants, is because, ironically, he has *not* come to escape — as the majority of immigrants have — oppression, discrimination or breakdown of his own society; he has, in fact, come *to* a society that contains all these elements.

On his island the Puerto Rican may be poor, very

poor, but he knows and he feels that he belongs there; he has a sense of dignity and equality to his peers.

Life in the city is his first contact with a social system that puts him on the very bottom rung of the ladder. He is not only considered a "foreigner" but also a "Negro", with all the implications it carries in this society.

Therefore, perhaps, he doesn't try as hard to "adapt" because he rightfully feels that his racial heritage is neither a subject of shame nor of particular pride – but simply a fact. And that it should be accepted as such.

The great disparity between the values the Puerto Rican brings with him to his new environment and the realities that are forced upon him by it, lies at the heart of the fate that so often overtakes him. Nearly everything he believes in and cherishes is threatened by the conflicts he encounters in the new cultural setting.

He comes to a society not only different from his own but a society which itself is incessantly changing. Advanced technology is eliminating the need for many jobs that muscle alone can accomplish. The Puerto Rican is frequently an unskilled worker, and is then unable to find a job. The Puerto Rican mother is not only faced with the problem that her child is being taught math in another language, but that he is being taught 'new math', something unheard of in her school days.

Then, we see that our *unprepared visitor* not only suffers culture shock, but future shock as well. Future shock is defined by Toffler as "the dizzying disorientation brought on by the premature arrival of the future."

So we find that, as revealed by studies, despite the attainments of the Puerto Rican in the history of his migration to American cities, most of them have been caught in the cycle of poverty.

It is tragic for these cities that so many Puerto Ricans who have come in search of a better life have found instead slums, poverty, inadequate education, exploitation, meager incomes, and the destruction of cultural patterns and absence of viable substitutes.

Finally, we should not ignore the bearing that the irregular political status of Puerto Rico has on the individual. The Puerto Rican feels torn as to where and how to direct his allegiance. He is a man with a cultural heritage, but without a sense of belonging to a political entity he can call his own. The psychological ramifications of this as reflected in his behavior, are still to be further studied and discussed.

What culture shock is all about is when in school, a child is punished to write 500 times "I must speak English in school". Or when a just-arrived Puerto Rican child walks into a class and in being introduced to the teacher as a non-English speaking pupil she exclaims: "Oh no, not another one!" Right there and then he begins to feel unwanted, unfit, and maybe downright inferior.

The Puerto Rican child has been the "perfect" victim of the school system. We have the highest rate of high school dropouts, and the highest level of reading retardation in New York City.

The psychological effects of his inability to learn are incalculable for the Puerto Rican child. As his reading handicap increases in relation to his grade level, his sense of frustration grows and he seriously begins to doubt his own learning capacities and probably begins to develop a complex of ethnic inferiority.

The high school youth feels specially burdened by too many demands. In four years he not only has to develop a new working language in order to learn; he has to learn; he has to achieve in a competitive environment; he has to struggle with his own inadequacies as well as that of the school system. At a very critical age he is to experience not only the usual emotional and psychological turmoil of adolescence, but the effects of culture shock as well.

## ABSORBING CULTURE SHOCK

It has been only recently that schools have become aware of the plight of the Puerto Rican student. Bilingual school projects are underway; universities across the country are beginning to establish Puerto Rican Studies departments. Continuation of this trend is of vital importance for our community.

Bilingual education is basic for the absorbing of the initial culture shock. When the mother of a child comes to school for the first time to register her child, she is full of apprehensions – about herself and about the child. It is a tremendous relief – and perhaps the first step in the right direction – that she is able to communicate with the school registrar because he or she speaks Spanish. The child will be more confident in keeping up with his peers, in not feeling unwanted by the teacher. The proper foundations can then be laid for the future academic development of this child.

New York pretends to be a bilingual city. However, only 1% of all school teachers speak Spanish, while 25% of the student body does, and only a handful of schools carry bilingual programs. New York pretends to be a bilingual city, but the only signs one finds in Spanish – usually incorrectly

written – are those telling us not to do something, like spitting or littering. We pretend to be a bilingual city, but when a Spanish-speaking person goes to a government agency he finds no one who can communicate with him, he finds the thousand-and-one blank forms he has to fill out are written in English.

Now, what is to be done to *prepare* the *unprepared visitor* – keeping in mind that he has come to stay. We speak of "cultural integration" and "cultural pluralism"; these are terms to be defined properly. What do they mean in the specific context of our minorities and the American cities?

As Toffler points out, "our psychologists and politicians alike are puzzled by the seemingly irrational resistance to change exhibited by certain individuals and groups." He further comments on "...how little is actually known about adaptivity... Earnest intellectuals talk bravely about 'educating for change' or 'preparing for the future'. But we know virtually nothing about how to do it. In the most rapidly changing environment to which man has ever been exposed, we remain pitifully ignorant of how the human animal copes."

However, we have the physical conditions to put cultural integration into practice. We have the technical know-how. We also know that we not only need bilingual education, but bi-cultural education, for our community and for those who deal with our community. Society at large will come to realize that no matter how *unprepared* a *visitor* may be, he is first and foremost a human being, and that any program to overcome these difficulties will have to be based on these humanistic and cultural moves.

DONALD HADFIELD, Consultant, EEO Section, Minnesota Department of Education, led his workshop "An informal psycho-social assessment of various school desegregation techniques" in discussions and demonstrations of group problem identification, analysis and solution techniques. The group discussed in depth such concepts as force-field analysis and problem solving in the generic sense. The excerpts reflect the theoretical yet practical trend of the content.

...To me, an organization, committee, individual, that makes a clear identification of the right problem has got 80% of the work done. But so often a lot of planning that is done, and a lot of objectives that are written out, are objectives and plans that are based on an incorrect analysis to the situation–lead therefore to working on the wrong problem and therefore not likely to affect the situation.

...Kepner and Tregoe,...the very systematic approach to problem analysis,...there is no conscious without a problem and without a problem there is no conscience effort or action taken...

...A problem exists when a person or group sees things are not the way he wants them to be, when there is vital discrepancy; this we designate as a problem area....

...Kurt Lewin...the situation remains the way it is because there are two off-setting forces...restraining forces...supporting forces...the situation will remain that way unless or until....

...Another thing that we find about this process is this...when persons are involved in this type of systems approach, it is very easy to observe whether individuals are committed to the goal....

...You find individuals sort of beginning to back out, not participating. You get some sense that they are not involved. They don't want that type of commitment...boils down to two or three who really want to see something happen....

...Choose very short-term goals at first...Very short term types of action steps...It might be a phone call, it might be writing someone. It might be calling one meeting...doing the type of thing where one can see some results....

...The norm about process is that it has a beginning but it doesn't have an end....

**Personal Statement: Black**

**Warren H. Burton**
**Consultant**
**Equal Educational Opportunity**
**Washington State of**
**Public Instruction**

As an educator responsible for statewide equal educational opportunity I regard myself as a "change agent" while understanding that education is a vast and complex undertaking, and demanding in its operation a great body of specialized skills, knowledges and understandings.

Also, I remain concerned about the underprivileged educated, the undereducated privileged, and the undereducated underprivileged, as well as the educated privileged student.

Although the present focus of attention is upon the poor who live in city ghettos, the poor are spread throughout the metropolitan and rural areas and they are not of one color. But some of the worst pockets of poverty are in those parts of the central cities where living costs are highest and where resources for aiding the poor are inadequate. As compared with surrounding suburbs, central cities of our metropolitan areas have disproportionate numbers of the aged poor and of children in poor families.

Growing recognition of the close correlation of poverty, low educational attainment, poor health, dilapidated housing, lack of family planning information and family services have resulted in new approaches to the problems. The old "Band Aid" no longer works. We have learned, painfully, that education alone is not the answer. Education offers little to those who are prevented by disability or disservice from using it to achieve economic security. By itself, education offers little to those whose family and community orientation places little or no premium on what can be tomorrow because it is concerned solely with today.

However, in education we need to pay greater attention to the economic, social, and health factors that are integral parts of the learning process. We are not seeking exits from poverty, disease, ignorance, and other social wastelands, alone, but access roads to positive enjoyment of good health, relevant education, participating citizenship, meaningful employment and economic security.

The writer has a basic question about the education of the disadvantaged. That is, what are our ultimate expectations for these children who are classified as "culturally different," or "disenfranchised," and how is the public school system to meet them? There appear to be two main alternatives with some leeway between them. Do we anticipate that these children will be educated and acculturated so that they will be equipped to enter the mainstream of American cultural and economic life, to cease being disadvantaged; or do we anticipate that they will be educated so that they will become somewhat literate, somewhat better adjusted, somewhat healthier and cleaner members of the disadvantaged?

If we select the first alternative, that of repairing the child to get out of the disadvantaged life, then the challenge to the schools is quite difficult, for they have to teach the child a wealth of behavior, competence and skills of which he experiences little at home, or any other place in his out-of-school world.

If we select the second alternative, that of educating the disadvantaged child for the disadvantaged life, then the challenge to the schools is much easier and the opportunity for success much greater, for what is taught will be relevant—or closer to the daily experiences of the child.

It appears that we must select the first alternative, that of educating the culturally-different and disenfranchised child so that he can enter, if he wishes, into the American middle class society.

There are interrrelationships between poverty and education that must be identified and exploited. There are elements of the urban environment that emphasize technology. Yet, why cannot this complex of structures created by man help to serve man in his continuing struggle to develop effective public educational programs?

Another area of concern would be an investigation of the role of educational leadership in affecting human behavior and developing human potential. Related to this area is a systematic study of communications and educational program development and management involving an interagency approach correlated with involvement and participation of the human clientele and the community.

The concept of equal educational opportunity continues to lend itself to a wide range of interpretations, some compatible and some polar.

Most of us are aware of the *Coleman Report* and

its defining equality of educational opportunity in terms of the school. This report has shown that of all school factors affecting a child's achievement the most important are the characteristics of the students with whom he is associated (peer group pressures).

Yet, we need to think in terms of equality of results for pupils of unequal backgrounds. We fail to realize, sometimes, that this approach indicates a reallocation of resources including personnel, instruction, materials and facilities, so that we may apply unequal and often, unconventional amounts of resources, to develop comprehensive educational programs for children so that all children may realize their potentials as responsible and contributing citizens.

The causes of poverty are complex and, obviously, there aren't any simple solutions. But the cycle of poverty must be cracked and broken. I adhere to the principle that public education is the chief instrument by which the poor and the disenfranchised must enter the mainstream of American economic, political and social life.

Compensatory and other educational programs aimed at achieving educational equality should include all who are educationally disadvantaged by their economic condition regardless of their ethnic origin.

Racial desegregation and integration (overcoming racial discrimination) remain basic to the more complex solutions to educational dilemmas on the rural, suburban and particularly the urban scene.

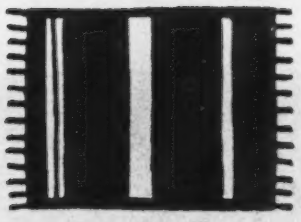
School integration is of critical importance for the quality and equality of education. I urge that maximum priority be given to school integration.

I remain convinced that Blacks do not want a period of "benign neglect," however, the phrase is applied.

Let me close with a statement by W.E.B. DuBois, written in "The Souls of Black Folks" in 1903:

> "One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideas in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."

Thank you for this opportunity to share these thoughts with you.



## THE CHICANO AND EDUCATION

**Personal Statement: Chicano**

**By Frank Trevino Jr.**
**Field Representative**
**Washington State Human Rights Commission**

Before I proceed, I think it appropriate to explain a term which I will be using often in this presentation. A brief overview of the etymology and general definition is necessary. The term is Chicano! The word Chicano stems from the Indian Nahuatl language of Mexico. The "x" in the Nahuatl language was pronounced "ch", therefore Mexico was pronounced as Mechico and Mexicano was pronounced as Mechicano. In common usage the first syllable "me" was dropped leaving Chicano. It is not a new term for the American of Mexican descent, on the contrary, it is a word we used in describing ourselves when speaking in our own idiom – Spanish.

The term Chicano is not accepted by some Mexicans or Mexican-Americans to the point of disliking the term. Its roots, though, are deeply ingrained in the American of Mexican descent. The most common reason for dislike of the term is because it has a connotation for some of identifying the Mexican-American as something less than "All-American"

Let's look at some of the terms used in identifying the Chicano. A Mexican is a person born in Mexico. It denotes nationality. A Mexican-American is a person of Mexican descent born in the United States. The terms, Mexican, Mexican-American and Chicano are all used by the Mexican.

A Spanish-American is a person born in the United States of Spanish descent. A Spaniard is a person born in Spain. Neither Spanish or Spanish-American is accurate or appreciated when addressing a Mexican-American.

However, Chicano is generally applied to an ideology and movement in this country of Mexican-Americans who want to retain and propogate their Indian and Spanish heritage. The Chicano movement or Chicanismo is a realistic, progressive and

demanding movement. The Chicano is a person who is taking an affirmative, aggressive stand on the current issues of our country. The Mexican and the Mexican-American is a Chicano by choice. He is the Mexican or Mexican-American who has embraced the concept of Chicanismo. What then is this new concept? It is a very deep personal commitment dedicated to the betterment of all phases of life for the Spanish-speaking Americans and the *American* of Mexican descent! I emphasize American – do not for one second think that we are not Americans – but we are also Mexican. The Chicanos are a bilingual and bicultural people and we fully intend to remain so. The Chicano movement then is an effort to retain our beautiful Mexican heritage, its language and culture and at the same time participate to the fullest extent possible in the American culture. This American culture for the Chicano, if brought down to basics, is economics or the acquisition of material goods. I'm not knocking material gain. It is a necessity by which man acquires his basic needs and other objects which make life reasonably comfortable. The Chicano finds no conflict in being bicultural. It is not a matter of either one or the other for the Chicano; the two cultures complement each other. Chicanismo is more a spiritual than a materialistic concept.

Chicanismo is a movement which encourages the reaching out to help a brother in need without regard to his skin color or social status. It is the appreciation of another human being and his unique heritage whatever that heritage may be. It is willingness to participate in the American way of life without losing his language and culture.

The Chicano has a heritage which he feels is an asset and he is willing to share this heritage in this country which has been called the great "melting pot". However, he does not want this beautiful heritage to be melted down to an indistinguishable blob of nothingness. The Chicano has an identity and he is determined to maintain that identity as an American of Mexican descent.

These statements on the Chicano may seem very basic, but the fact of the matter is that the majority population and even some Mexican-Americans view the Chicano as a militant, a revolutionary and a dissident whose sole objective is turmoil. Somehow all of this is interpreted as being un-American or anti-American. Well, the Chicano is aggressive, militant if you prefer, in his demands for changes that will award a relevant educational experience for his children. He is a revolutionary in his thinking that equal treatment of unequals in the school systems does not produce an equal educational opportunity for the student. He is a dissident with regard to many of the current curriculums which do not take into consideration the uniqueness of his bilingual and bicultural children. And finally, he is going to create more turmoil until school districts take more affirmative action in the hiring of more Chicanos as certificated teachers and until school boards become more aware of the need for having Chicanos on the school boards. Is it so unreasonable to expect a Chicano appointment to a school board?

Why are these needs so important? The Mexican-American youngster repeats the first grade at a rate of 80% on the national level, only 15% graduate from high school, and only 2% go to college. Many changes must be made in the schools before children, *American children* of Mexican descent, will be able to develop to their optimum potential.

Some of the changes that must come about are the acceptance of bilingual education at the primary level, the initiation of Mexican-American studies at the colleges and universities which grind out teachers for our children, and last but by no means least, a change in the ethnocentric attitudes of the majority population and educators toward the bilingual and bicultural student. Reflecting this ethnocentricity are attitudes of animosity, indifference and insensitivity.

Bilingual education particularly has been a much maligned and misunderstood program by most of the majority population and some educators. Traditionally our school systems have had the idea that being bilingual was a handicap. Teachers have been instructing students who are primarily Spanish-speaking with texts and methods which are beneficial only to English-speaking youngsters. An example of this is the Spanish-speaking youngster who goes to his first class, afraid *yet* eager, and hears many new sounds. What are these new sounds? The Spanish language has but ten word ending letters. They are the vowels and the letters l, r, s, n, and d. But in the English language there are approximately forty word ending letters. Teachers are not equipped or trained to handle this situation. An erroneous conclusion is that the child is an underachiever. This is not the case at all with bilingual classes, where the teacher utilizes the language already known by the student to teach the English language. Through bilingual education (or the teaching in two languages), the students can be taught at the same rate as their classmates in monolingual classes.

Participation in the bilingual programs currently established in the state is on a voluntary basis only. In those schools which have bilingual education, it has been noted that there have been more students applying than can be accepted. Many have been denied this educational opportunity because the programs are run on a limited basis. Those schools which are viable enough to meet the individual needs of the non-English-speaking student have introduced bilingual education. Schools which are not sensitive to or aware of the needs of non-English-speaking youngsters have not taken advantage of the bilingual

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system. The rationale often is that "this is America you know and we are an English-speaking country". In the final analysis we are teaching Americans and bilingual education should be utilized by those school districts whose Mexican-American population indicates a need. The entire school system does not immediately become bilingual! What does occur is that the needs of the student are met and a success pattern is started rather than a failure pattern. The self-image is enhanced tremendously and eventually this new self-image will help curb the tremendous drop-out rate of the Chicano student.

What is the Chicano position regarding bilingual education? The Chicano *wants* bilingual programs. He *asks* for and encourages the acceptance of the programs into the school systems. The Chicano, finally, insists and demands that bilingual education be adopted and this is where he meets his Waterloo – the local level. When the Chicano meets with local school boards with reasonable requests they go unheeded. When they insist or demand anything of the local school baords they are met with stiff and unyielding resistance. All too often the issue is forgotten amidst the raging battle between the school board and the Chicano. If only there was a Chicano on the school board!

Mexican-American or Chicano studies in the colleges and universities are of grave concern to the Chicano. The full realization is upon the Chicano that they seemingly have no place in the history of this country! But how can this be? Have they been overlooked, ignored? The simple fact is that the Mexican-American has been an invisible American. The problems of the Chicano in America have not been analyzed in the higher institutions of learning. No wonder that the educators, the school boards, and the community in general are not aware of or sensitive to the needs of this bicultural, bilingual group – the Chicano. No wonder Anglos refer to me as Spanish, Spanish-Anerican or Latin! No wonder when a person addresses a person as Mexican he does so with hesitance. This is why Juan becomes "Johnny" and Isidro becomes "Sid". This is why the teacher who asks the nationality of a Chicano youngster is puzzled at the answer, "I'm an American!" What the teacher really wants to know is the student's ethnic origin.

Ethnic studies is a must for our teacher training institutions. Ethnic studies will allow us to look at *old* problems with a *new* perspective. A perspective based not on conjecture and speculation, but rather one based on scientific expertise. Ethnic studies will present new and positive concepts about the Mexican-American and his bilingual and bicultural value system. It will plug the open gaps in our history books caused by past omission. Ethnic studies will produce texts and courses which will have to be taken by a potential teacher if he is to be credited to teach in a school with 10% or more of the population being Mexican-American. These are not unrealistic goals and they are goals which, if achieved, are beneficial to the total community in many more ways than can be enumerated at this time. Let us not lose our perspective on why these changes must immediately occur. That five-year-old who walks through the door of his first school is reason enough.

Attitudes of educators and school boards are the single most important factor in the academic development of our children. Even with the best designed educational programs, if the teacher is not knowledgeable enough about our children and their unique qualities the child may still get lost in the shuffle. If local educators continue to disregard the pleas of the Chicano parents and the advice of other educators, we will continue to see our children drop out at the junior high level, fail to enter high school, or drop out of high school before graduation. We will continue to see only 2% of the Chicanos going on to college.

Acknowledgement of the many fine programs and the dedication of many individuals whom I have encountered in Washington State are in order. The programs established through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have played a large factor in advancing us to this point in our educational endeavors. But there is still much to be accomplished and the Chicanos' voices will continue to ring out loud and clear on the needs of their children!

**Personal Statement: Indian Remarks**

**Philip A. LaCourse**
**University of Washington**
**Minority Affairs Office**

I am very honored to be asked to speak before your group. It is not very often that I am asked to educate the educator, socialize the social worker, consult the consultant, brief the attorney and advise the doctor.

I see no need to stand before you and recite enrollment and retention statistics on Indian education nor do I see the need to compare them to the national average. We all know that they are most depressing. In spite of this unpleasantness, it is important to realize that the conscience of this rich and affluent nation has been barely aroused. Certainly we are all aware of the fact that there are educators who think they comprehend the complexities of Indian society and administrators who know what Indians want and need and therefore plan, direct, and coordinate programs designed to enhance the low educational status of the American Indian. I ask you—is this enough?

Is it enough to have educators who think they know how to *teach* the American Indian?

Is it enough to have educators who think they can *relate* to the American Indian?

Is it enough to have administrators who think they know enough about Indians to plan programs for them?

We believe it is far better to have people in the educational system who understand our simplest needs. People who share the feelings which we have in our hearts. People who can communicate with us at our level. People who no longer "do" programs "for" us, or "at" us, or "to" us but rather "with" us. People who are not only "people oriented" but more important "Indian oriented".

I will attempt to relate to you some of the attitudes, beliefs, and feelings of my people. I must say that although there are many who share my thoughts, this opinion is my own and I do not speak for all American Indians.

It is perhaps important to first examine the meaning of education before I can provide any insight into the subject of "Equal Educational Opportunity and its Impact on Local Ethnic Groups".

What does education mean to the American Indian?

Indians get up in the morning and put their pants on the same way as you do; and, like you, many see education as a necessary tool to the achievement of upward mobility—both socially and economically. Education provides the means to achieve higher social status, better jobs, higher income, and prestige.

Many Indians see education as the only direct method in which they can approve the "lot" of their fellow brothers. To learn the system, to learn the jargon, to learn the means in which they can effectively communicate with the dominant non--Indian society. To make society aware of their problems and to seek solutions to the gross inequities which society imposes upon the Indian.

The courts, in this state, and across the country have held that Indians are citizens of the United States, that Indians are entitled to all rights and privileges of citizenship; *however,* Indians are entitled to additional rights and privileges granted to them by the treaties. Although this may well be the law, implementation of this "privileged status" has been virtually non-existent.

To our older tribal members, education is a departure from the "Indian Way". The elderly believe that the young students are taught to be competitive where they were once taught to share and be generous. They were once taught to have a greater respect for the individual and for their elders whose wisdom guided their very existence. The young educated Indian loses his communication with nature, "mother earth", and the spirit guardians. The young educated Indian loses his "closeness" with life and his appreciation of living things. You see, our elderly believe that education and technology have caused pollution and destruction of our "mother earth"; that education is causing social disruption and less sympathy for the plight of our fellow man. Our elderly see the prevailing attitude of "I've worked hard to get what I've got and everyone else has the same opportunity". Perhaps now you can start to see some of the fundamental rationale which our older folks have and understand why they can say that "once an Indian receives an education—he is no longer Indian."

It is very difficult for our young to walk in two worlds. On the one hand, society has taught them to get an education to help their people. On the other hand, society has taken away their culture and the ideals for which it once stood.

When we examine the "system" to see if there is truly "equal educational opportunity", we might conclude that there is, at least from a physical standpoint. Certainly everyone has access to grade school, and to high school, and perhaps even to the university. The system falters after the student has been accepted. The educational process is not totally relevant or compatible with the student's upbringing and values. This is best illustrated by an even more direct route into the educational system.

Many young Indians are taken from their reservation and sent to far off boarding schools under the guise of "opportunity". Here they are forbidden to speak their native tongue. Here they are stripped of their individuality and their proud heritage. Once they have mastered the English language, they are told how proud they can be to have come from the only *true* American culture; how proud they can be because they are lineal descendants from the primitive societies which have been there for as long as 50,000 years; that they are the sons and daughters of great chiefs who fought to preserve this great land. They are not told that this country once practiced genocide; and that these great ancestors of ours were given blankets by the War Department which were infested with small pox to speed up the "development of the new frontier." They were not told that the lands they forceably and reluctantly gave up contained mineral resources and valuable timber which would aid in the "development of the new frontier." No, they are not taught these things by this society—but they learn of them at home.

It is apparent from a simple examination of history that the Indian was not treated fairly! Today we talk about programs which provide equal opportunity for all—but whom are we talking about? If we are talking about Indians, then the programs must be geared to meet their needs. The manner in which the programs are established and operating do not meet the psychological, social, and economic needs of the Indian community. Equal educational opportunity is not here for the Indian. The Indian cannot even be himself for in the past he has been taught to be ashamed of being a "savage". He is reminded of this in the very books from which he is to learn. He is not entitled to enjoy the many "freedoms" which are guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution, and further, the "freedoms" which were provided for by the treaties. He encounters a society that knows what is "best" for him. In reality, what is happening today is that this society is making the American-Indian become the Indian-American.

Thank you.

## THE IMPLICATIONS OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL TO THE WHITE ANGLO-SAXON PROTESTANT

**Personal Statement: WASP**

**Catherine DeHaas, Senior, University of Washington**

People today are becoming more conscious of who they are. Race, creed, color, and sex seem to be current methods of boxing people into molds. The awareness of "who I am" is making people say "I don't fit in that square; that's not me." This is especially true of those represented here today. I can sympathize to a small extent being a woman in engineering – breaking society's preconceived notion of what one should be is not upbuilding, to grossly understate the case.

As a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, I must stand here ashamed. Tradition tells us that a WASP is one who has it made and doesn't care at all about those who don't, and all the while he is making pretty speeches about love. It is very often true that a WASP advocates one thing with flowery oratory while busily preventing the same with actions. This glaring dichotomy between words and actions is probably the major cause of unequal educational opportunities. For change to happen, whites must not only change their attitudes but also their actions.

At school we learn that we believe certain very beautiful things. We acknowledge that "*all* men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" and that these rights include "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We learn that our Constitution with its Bill of Rights had the purpose of assuring equal opportunities and equal protection to every man. The Civil War had as its just cause the abolition of slavery, and it resulted in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments. Even today laws are being passed to prevent anyone from being slighted. All this results in a large dose of the "boot-strap" philosophy: by working hard enough, anyone can pull himself up by the bootstraps and go anywhere. So that's what we believe, we say.

But, I started seeing beyond the "glasshouse" of the all-white community where I lived. This caused a basic problem because I noticed that it is not all "nice". For some reason, all of us, created equal, no longer are, in fact, equal. My brothers do not have the same opportunities to learn and grow and seek happiness that I do. When I read books by people of other races, I hear frustration at the injustices with which they live. Something is not right; our ideology is too far from the real world.

The implications of this inconsistency are tied to the WASP's self-image. Equal educational opportunity directly threatens a WASP's state of equilibrium. It is basic to freeing non-whites to have equal opportunities everywhere. It seems to me a WASP's consciousness of who he is is challenged when he thinks of non-white engineers, doctors, bankers, etc. Many whites that I have talked to believe that most non-WASPs are dirty, lazy, stupid — inherently inferior. This influences the picture many whites have of themselves. The corresponding superiority complex gives them importance and worth. To say that he, a WASP, has gone farther economically and politically only because he has had opportunities he denies to others challenges the boot-strap theory. A WASP feels he works harder so he goes farther; he pulls himself up by the boot-straps. To admit he is only there because the boot-straps of the non-whites were continually being cut, makes his achievement empty and meaningless. To challenge the inferiority of others, then, is to shake the foundations of a WASP's own identity.

Another implication to the WASP of equal educational opportunities being offered to all is the resultant threat to those things he values. His children will compete with and come in social contact with non-whites. There will be more competition, not only for education, but also for jobs, housing and other material and status objects. What he *has* as well as what he *is* is threatened by a change.

Threatened in such basic ways, it is natural for a man to resist. Thus, it is understandable, even though it is inconsistent, that WASPS as a group resist change. So far, the WASP has wielded enough power to thwart any threat to his life style.

It is all too sad that the response to this glaring inconsistency is indifference. "So what? Why should I care? Why should I risk what I am and what I have for the non-white? Why should I let him have his right to an equal opportunity to develop his skills and grow so he can pursue happiness as I can? I have; he doesn't. I hope; he despairs. So what? I won't risk what is mine!"

This attitude is particularly frustrating to me because I can see no logical way to explain to someone why he should take a risk. I can see no rationale for his sacrificing his security for others. From somewhere must come the motivation to, number one, admit the WASP's wrong as WASP's corporately and individually have wrought. Somehow we need the power to be rid of the defensiveness which makes us fight against others. And, number two, after we have realized our mistakes and admitted them, WASP's must find the capacity to understand that people are more important than money. We need to understand that we can only gain true meaning for life as we are willing to give up our present security and preconceived prejudices. Only as we lose those artificial props can we find real life.

The only motivation I can see is love. The kind of love that puts human flesh on the skeleton of his values. A kind of love that makes his neighbor more important than his own security. It is evident from the past that man does not have the capacity for that kind of love on his own. As a Protestant, trying to be consistent, I see that the center of Christ's ministry was this kind of love. Equally important was His realization that man couldn't perfect this type of love by himself. He knew that man would blow it. What he demanded was that man become convinced of his wrong toward his fellowman and that he confess this to Christ and to his neighbor. Then Christ promises forgiveness as man changes and goes the other way behaviorally. He also promises the power to love our neighbor as ourself, the love we can never muster ourselves. This seems to me to be the kind of motivation that directly parallels the change in attitude WASP's must make to be consistent with the statement that all men are created equal.

There are many specific responses we, as WASP's must make to this call. Since equal educational opportunity for all implies a threat to the WASP, he needs to develop an attitude of "he that loses his life shall find it".

So what does that mean for us? Do we go back to our comfortable white neighbors, to our comfortable businesses, to our comfortable white churches? I think yes, but we must come as liberators. We must come to free our WASP brothers and sisters to realize the need for, number one, awareness — that is, what is happening inside and outside our own community, and number two, a call to action — that is, taking a vibrant concern for helping changes happen in the white and in the non-white community. Therefore, we all the more need to rely on the power through Christ to love our non-white neighbors as ourselves.

David Takagi, a member of the Bahai Faith, after hearing the personal statements of the Four Ethnic Representatives asked permission to make a statement of his own, as an *ASIAN.* As his participation was unplanned, he had no prepared statement. He read an essay on "Education" from *Foundations of World Unity,* by Abdul Bahai, as reflective of his own thinking. The statement by Abdul Bahai, pillar of the Bahai Faith, follows in its entirety.

## EDUCATION

According to the statement of philosophers the difference in degree of humankind from lowest to highest is due to education. The proofs they advance are these: The civilization of Europe and America is an evidence and outcome of education whereas the semi-civilized and barbarous peoples of Africa bear witness in their condition that they have been deprived of its advantages. Education makes the ignorant wise, the tyrant just, promotes happiness, strengthens the mind, develops the will and makes fruitless trees of humanity fruitful. Therefore in the human world some have attained lofty degrees while others grope in the abyss of despair. Nevertheless the highest attainment is possible for every member of the human race even to the station of the prophets. This is the statement and reasoning of philosophers.

The prophets of God are the first educators. They bestow universal education upon man and cause him to rise from lowest levels of savagery to the highest pinnacles of spiritual development. The philosophers too are educators along lines of intellectual training. At most they have only been able to educate themselves and a limited number about them, to improve their own morals and, so to speak, civilize themselves; but they have been incapable of universal education. They have failed to cause an advancement for any given nation from savagery to civilization.

It is evident that although education improves the morals of mankind, confers the advantages of civilization and elevates man from lowest degrees to the station of sublimity, there is nevertheless a difference in the intrinsic or natal capacity of individuals. Ten children of the same age, with equal station of birth, taught in the same school, partaking of the same food, in all respects subject to the same environment, their interests equal and in common, will evidence separate and distinct degrees of capability and advancement; some exceedingly intelligent and progressive, some of mediocre ability, others limited and incapable. One may become a learned professor while another under the same course of education proves dull and stupid. From all standpoints the opportunities have been equal but the results and outcomes vary from the highest to lowest degree of advancement. It is evident therefore that mankind differs in natal capacity and intrinsic intellectual endowment. Nevertheless although capacities are not the same, every member of the human race is capable of education.

His Holiness Jesus Christ was an educator of humanity. His teachings were altruistic; his bestowal universal. He taught mankind by the power of the Holy Spirit and not through human agency, for the human power is limited whereas the divine power is illimitable and infinite. The influence and accomplishment of Christ will attest this.

Galen, the Greek physician and philosopher, who lived in the second century A.D., wrote a treatise upon the civilization of nations. He was not a Christian but he has borne testimony that religious beliefs exercise an extraordinary effect upon the problems of civilization. In substance he says, "There are certain people among us, followers of Jesus the Nazarene who was killed in Jerusalem. These people are truly imbued with moral principles which are the envy of philosophers. They believe in God and fear Him. They have hopes in His favors, therefore they shun all unworthy deeds and actions and incline to praiseworthy ethics and morals. Day and night they strive that their deeds may be commendable and that they may contribute to the welfare of humanity; therefore each one of them is virtually a philosopher, for these people have attained unto that which is the essence and purport of philosophy. These people have praiseworthy morals even though they may be illiterate."

The purpose of this is to show that the holy Manifestations of God, the divine prophets, are the first teachers of the human race. They are universal educators and the fundamental principles they have laid down are the causes and factors of the advancement of nations.

## THE UNCONSCIOUS COMMUNICATION OF ATTITUDES AND INTENT BY INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS

Luis Nieves, Executive Director, Aspira, Inc.

What I have to say, in looking around me, I know that many of you have experienced. I see many brown and black faces and I'm basically going to talk about an experience between the Puerto Rican population and an institution that it's forced to deal with. That institution happens to be an educational institution. I'm talking of the New York City Educational Institution, which is one of the largest in the country. It has a budget of well over two billion dollars, a population of well over one million students, and an enormous bureaucracy which no one understands. If this institution can be placed in a context of institutions as a whole, then we can say that institutions generally are public and the board of education is a public institution. Institutions also have goals, methods, and intent, which is true of the New York City Board of Education.

Institutions are also subject to a disease called institutionalism. In effect, institutionalism is the changing of the objective of an institution from its original to a second objective – self survival. Most of the institutions, which employ people such as you and myself, as "minority workers" or "civil rights workers", are institutions which suffer from institutionalism. The New York City Board of Education suffers precisely from that. I'm going to talk about some of the games that institutions of education play with minority cases. I'm going to take as the case in point New York City.

We're all working in a context that says equal opportunity is the rule of the game for education. We have it on paper. We're all guaranteed equal opportunity in education. We also share the understanding that this equal opportunity idea does not transmit itself beyond the paper level, it does not manifest itself in our lives or in the lives of students.

The point is very simple. We have all the laws and legislation required to support an equal opportunity in education. That opportunity is not evident. What is it about the institutions that have the responsibility to deliver education and do not do so? On the east coast lack of Equal Education Opportunity is made most dramatic and most understood through viewing relationships with the Board of Education, because the board of education is a major oppressor. One quarter of that school system is Puerto Rican. One half of the city schools' population is Black and Puerto Rican.

Institutions have another characteristic. Institutions seem to serve those who control it and Blacks and Puerto Ricans in New York do not control the Board of Education. The Board of Education in New York City has been described as one of the most unsuccessful educational systems in the country. That's not true, as a matter of fact, it's the most successful educational system. Why? Because it very adequately and expertly serves those it is intended to serve.

For example, did you happen to know, a major portion of the white students in general of the New York City school population score well above the median and the average in national test scores? Contrasted to this, the New York City school system is also the most unsucessful in educating minority groups. It makes a very simple point. The institutional failure for one population, contrasts with the institutional success for another population. It's a clear communication to you and to myself. I think that educational system is saying something and if I'm supposed to be telling you about some of the communication systems between individuals and institutions, well, I think that said an awful lot to me. I wonder what it says to you? If this system, this bureaucracy, is so good at educating one portion of the population and so poor at educating another portion of the population, then obviously the resources are there, everything that is needed is there to deliver equal opportunity in education, to deliver a good education.

Let me trace just briefly a Puerto Rican student's journey in the New York City school system. Two hundred and fifty thousand such students are in the school system. Puerto Ricans have no significant portion of those in kindergarten. We do not participate in the kindergarten program. The kindergarten programs are very exceptional in areas such as Queens, and Staten Island where the Puerto Ricans are distinct minorities. You've heard of Headstart, I'm sure, it was one of the most successful programs in the pre-kindergarten area and an administrative disaster.

It was, and is a characteristic of the system to provide secondary jobs to the minority populations, to the same people who were already failing in the system itself. There were teachers who did not teach students in the regular school system, they became the teachers for it in pre-school programs. The administrators who were not acceptable administrators became the administrators of this program, and it failed miserably. These are communications to our population.

Look very closely at the kinds of things public institutions are trying to tell us, it fails because it

wants to fail. Such a program failed because it did not receive proper priority, it did not have an equal value and benefits for all of the population. It's frightening. You might think, here we have some paranoid preacher—here, thinking that there is some conspiratorial theory, that all these institutions are out to do all of these minority groups in. True. I believe it. I have to believe it if I'm going to respond with the kind of emotion that is necessary to create some kind of change, and convince other people to help in that change. I think you have to be neurotic or paranoid about what is so systematically happening to such a large population. You, as individuals, work for these institutions. You have to be held responsible for what these institutions are doing. These institutions are implementing these designs with your assistance, with your help, and with your blessing. If you are in that system and you are not angry about what that system is doing, and you're not responding within that system, you are in effect, supporting precisely what that system has in mind for some and not for others. Most of you here do not control those institutions. So we hold responsibilities individually. People like you and me work within such systems.

Follow my student through a course in the educational system in New York. First thing, we established that he doesn't belong in Kindergarten. Kindergartens might give him a headstart. The Puerto Rican students are very much the minority. Even though they, with Blacks, are a majority in the school population, they are the minority in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten programs.

Look at our Puerto Rican student at the elementary level. He's put in a classroom with thirty to forty other students. He does not speak English very well. He is confronted with what some of us have been talking about, "cultural shock". What are the cues that he reads and the cues that he gives out; they are different from anything he has had to manage before. He comes in frightened. He comes in unprepared to respond to what is promulgated by a frightened teacher. Believe it or not, elementary school teachers are frightened of 30 elementary school students sitting in a classroom. This frightened teacher makes demands that the students do not understand and cannot respond to, and so communication, where it should have begun positively, does not exist.

There is fright on the part of the teachers for parents. Puerto Rican parents are very strange and different, they act differently, they have a different sense of values. That I know as a teacher. What their values are, how they speak, what they say, what they believe in, I don't know. It is enough that I know it is different, and that makes me frightened. For the teacher it means communicating that fright, that alienation to students, who don't know better, who don't know what to expect. Then as a teacher, I ask my student to sit for three, four, five hours, to sit while his colleagues are reading something or reciting, until all his colleagues, one by one recite. He is expected at that particularly tender age to sit and be patient and wait another step. It doesn't have to be but that's when the break-down in the New York City school system begins.

We are probably one of the few groups in urban society which has a heavy dropout rate beginning after third grade. We literally dropout. Our dropout rate begins right there. I'm not talking about kids who are moving, kids who are migrating to other areas—they are dropping out. They're being put into special classes. Their parents are not supporting their return to school at all, their attendance at the schools is so spotty, it's not relevant. This situation is tolerated by the school system itself. The school system would even tolerate non-attendance of third grade Puerto Rican children. It is a clear communication of how much value it has for those children, what it believes and what its intentions are.

I recently observed in one of the major high schools in New York City on the day that it opened. On that day, the three top administrators of the school were nowhere to be found. On that day, there were students wandering throughout the school, without having any directions, without entering class. Thousands of students. There were 2,500 students in this school, designed to house 1,200. Walking through the hallways without programs, without rooms to go to, without knowing where or when they were supposed to be there. That is a communication by a school system. It's telling me that those students, those people, don't count. That somehow, this wandering around the hall doesn't mean anything, it's irrelevant, it has no significance.

Three days later, I had an opportunity to speak to a class at a Queens school and the difference was just—I could not talk about what I had seen at the first school, I was not believed by the teachers, I was not believed by the administrators, I was not believed by the board of education. But in fact, it happened. It is there. There are students in this high school, who had been allowed to go through that system never being told what or where they stood in terms of their education.

I have a record here of a student—he's in his third

year of high school. In junior high school, he had a 70 average. I would say two out of every four courses that this boy took for three years, he failed. This boy thinks he's going to graduate in June. He's sure. He has not seen the guidance counselor in two years. When we spoke to administration, they told us there's just no way this boy could graduate. The only problem is, he doesn't know it. They knew a year ago, that this boy could not graduate unless he started fresh. What does the record say about him after we read all the numbers? Agreeable boy, good, disregards the rules if not supervised, witty, very humorous, friendly, loyal personality. He has just been described. After three years of school, failure; all they have to say is that he's friendly, humorous, kind. That as an institution, begins to tell me something about their values and their expectation and their intention about that particular student.

On the college level, we know that for a student to enter college, he has to take certain exams. For students getting scholarships, they have to take what is known as an SAT exam. In the New York City School system, the PSAT was announced on the 13th of September to be given on the 15th of September. That is, students at five different ghetto schools received such notice. Meanwhile, it might be well to know that all schools in Queens and Staten Island had given the PSAT early in June. It was just not expected that these students from these other schools, which were 90% Black and Puerto Rican schools, would have any interest or knowledge or concern about the PSAT. We went asking to have all students in these five schools take the PSAT and they told us it couldn't be done. It was too late.

We're fighting that now. But I think the point is being made. The expectation, the interests of these institutions are made very clear in the kinds of behavior, the kinds of administrations that they have. We need not dig deep into these subtle factors, we need not dig deeper than routine institutional behavior and administrative behavior. This tells us in effect, it's a matter of how you and I begin to respond to these clear messages.

I think I've pointed out, very briefly, some types of institutional communication. I have pointed out that individuals in these systems are responsible for the implementations of these practices. Somehow institutions – this is what you and I have to confront, eye to eye. These events that I have just related to you could not happen without their being implemented by people, by individuals. These are individuals who will or will not see what they are doing. But certainly it is time that they understand, that they comprehend there must be revision of the kind of things they practice. At present, there is just no evidence of sufficient concern.

**A Question From The Floor.**

Mr. Nieves was asked:

Q: Why do you think this is no way of changing these situations considering that more Puerto Ricans and Blacks are now working in these institutions?

A: These institutions have not changed radically from what they were before, although they increase the number of minority workers employed. Minority workers usually enter these institutions at low or lower-middle-management levels, or in secondary administrative spots which have no policy-making responsibilities. What I'm further saying, however, is that in these spots there is enough room and some leverage, to change some of the destructive practices. But we get bought off. We are bought off by either our salaries, or some other reason, we are bought off.

We become impotent in those institutions, and that's why we have supported strategies that neutralize the involvement of minority members in existing institutions. We have gone the route of development of private institutions; private ethnic institutions, who play the strong advocacy role, and deliver a complementary service. Such supportive services, will teach our youth to reinterpret and redefine some of the cues in the society and some of the things they are being taught, so that they can begin developing new ideas and new strategies. Then hopefully, when they go into these institutions, they enter with a new mentality and with a strength and desire to change that institution to service everyone.

# EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY– IS IT POSSIBLE IN OUR LIFETIME?

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**Edmund W. Gordon, Ed.D.
Professor of Education
Teachers College
Columbia University**

One of the traditional roles of education in the U.S.A. has been to broaden opportunities for productive, influential, and rewarding participation in the affairs of the society by developing those skills and entry credentials necessary for economic survival and social satisfaction. The idea of education for all grew gradually. In this country we extended this opportunity to more and more of our people, by a steady increase in the quantity of educational experiences available and the quality of the educational product. While the quantity of available educational experiences has grown, there also has been a marked increase in the quality of the skills and competencies demanded of those who would achieve much. Similarly the individual's goals are higher. He wants to be productive in the sense that the society sees his effort as resulting in a valued product; influential in the sense that his participation is viewed as having some influence on outcomes; and rewarded for his effort both materially *and* psychologically.

Increased perception of this role of education makes us want to equalize access to basic education of high quality. Spurred on by the civil rights movement of the 1950's and 60's, equal opportunity in education has become an issue of crucial national concern. By many, it is regarded as the base for all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of membership in this modern democratic society.

Our country's desire to equalize educational opportunities is in part a product of advances in the organization and development of human societies during the past six centuries. In earlier periods when neither the need nor the resources for wide access to education existed, the ideal of universal equalization of educational opportunities also did not exist, certainly not in the public policy sphere. The concept itself and the concern for its implementation could not have emerged as an important issue, even now, if we had not earlier developed an awareness of the universality of educability. Human societies have always considered educable those categories of persons thought to be needed in the maintenance of the social order. Consequently as the human resource requirements of social orders have changed, concepts of educability have changed. Educability in human subjects has been defined less by the actual potentials of persons and more by the level of society's demand for people capable of certain levels of function. In more simplistic and exclusive social systems most people were considered uneducable and effort was not "wasted" on their formal training. As long ago as the early Christian period and as recently as the early nineteenth century, it was only the religious and political nobility who were thought to be capable and worthy of academic learning. The social order was maintained by the machinations of these elite groups and the simple and routine gaming, farming and crafting skills of illiterate masses. Under the triple pressures of the reformation in religion, mechanization in industry, and institutionalization in commerce, categories of persons thought to be capable of academic learning were greatly expanded. Opportunities for active participation in religious activities and rituals made reading and writing more widely usable and salable skills. Similarly, the emergence of collective machine production in shops and the expansion of commerce and trade through institutions made necessary the broader distribution of these skills. The combined impact was a greatly increased societal need for computational and communicative skills in larger numbers of people. As a corollary, previously illiterate people were drawn into the small body of literates and the mass of "uneducables" was reduced.

In the United States, where religious freedom and diversity became widespread, where democracy in government became the ideal, and where industrialization and economic expansion advanced most rapidly, more and more literate persons were required. In mid-nineteenth century U.S.A., society's view of who could be educated quickly expanded to include all people in this country except slaves. With the end of slavery and the incorporation of exslaves into the industrial labor force, exslaves gradually came to be regarded as educable. Through the exercise of briefly held political power, together with uneducated poor whites, they literally forced increased access to public education as a vehicle for their education. These indigenous poor were later

joined by waves of immigrants who also saw the public school as their major route to economic and social salvation. In the metropolitan areas of the period, the school also became the major vocational training resource that prepared semiskilled and commercial workers for rapidly expanding industries. Although the school did not succeed in educating all of these new candidates, the once narrowly defined concept of educability was now nearly universal in its inclusiveness.

Our conception of education has also changed over the years. In Thomas Jefferson's view the school was expected to provide the technical skills and basic knowledge necessary for work and economic survival. It was from newspapers, journals, and books and from participation in politics that people were to be really educated. In reviewing Jefferson's position on education, Cremin (1965) has concluded that it never occurred to Jefferson that schooling would become the chief educational influence on the young. However, changes in the number and variety of persons served by the school, changes in the functioning of the society and changes in the nature of the skills and competencies required by the social order have also changed the nature of education.

By the middle of the nineteenth century in this country, public schools serving the upper classes had developed curriculums basic to a liberal education. In this period the secondary school was quite selective and was designed to prepare a relatively few young people for entrance into college where most of them would pursue studies leading to one of the professions. While this trend continued through the latter half of that century, the first half of the twentieth century was marked by a high degree of proliferation in the development of technical and vocational training programs. Preparation in the liberal arts was considered a luxury and was thought by some to be relatively useless. It was the Jeffersonian concept of utilitarian education which prevailed. And it was this utilitarian education which came to be the mode in the growing acceptance of universal educability. "Everyone can and should be taught to do useful work and to hold a job" was the prevalent view.

The wide acceptance of this view contributed to the salvaging of education for Negroes following the betrayal of the Reconstruction Period and its leadership. In the great debate symbolized by verbal conflict between Booker T. Washington and William E.B. DuBois, the real struggle was between those who stood for the narrow but practical training of the hands of Negro and poor children so that they could work and those represented by DuBois who believed in the broad and somewhat less immediately practical education of the mind through the liberal arts and sciences. Those favoring the training of the hands won that debate. Educational facilities for Negroes and other poor people slowly expanded under the banner of technical and vocational training. This may have been a victory for expanded access to education, but the neglected concern for the "liberating" study of the arts and sciences made this a victory from which true equality in education has yet to recover. We will return to this point concerning the function of liberal arts and sciences in education later in this paper. At the moment our concern is with the protean nature of educability and education.

In this country the battle for equality of educational opportunity was first waged to establish public responsibility for the education of children in states where public education did not exist. This was followed by the struggle for adequate educational facilities and diverse educational programs. The twentieth century was one-third spent before the struggle for equal though separate schools was engaged. By mid-century it was legally determined that in our society separate schools are intrinsically unequal. However, even before the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision was promulgated, it was becoming clear that racially mixed school systems do not automatically insure education of high quality. This observation was supported by data on minority group children from schools in the North where varying degrees and patterns on ethnic mix were extant. Although the performance of minority group children in some of those schools was superior to that of such children in segregated systems in the South, differences in achievement and in the characteristics of their schools were notable.

The early nineteen sixties brought campaigns for education of high quality provided in ethnically integrated school settings. Some school systems responded with plans for the redistribution of school populations in efforts to achieve a higher degree of ethnic balance. Some of these along with other schools, introduced special enrichment and remedial programs intended to compensate for or correct deficiencies in the preparation of the children or the quality of the schools. Neither these efforts at achieving integrated education nor at developing compensatory education resulted in success. Ethnic balance and educational programs of high quality proved impossible to achieve instantaneously. Confronted with the failure to obtain ethnic integration and high quality in education, and given the recalcitrant presence of segregation in schools north, south, and west, the goals for many minority group parents shifted. In the late nineteen sixties the demand is made for education of high quality, where possible, on an ethnically integrated basis. However,

where segregation exists (and it does exist for the great majority of ethnic minorities in this country) the demand increases for control of those schools, serving such children, by groups indigenous to the cultures and communities in which they live. Hence the demand for "Black schools run by Black people."

Alongside this growing acceptance and promotion of ethnic separation, there continues to be concern for ethnic integration in education and compensatory education as complementary strategies in the equalization of educational opportunity. The introduction of the concept "compensatory education" grew out of the recognition that learners who did not begin from the same point may not have comparable opportunities for achievement when provided with equal and similar education experiences. To make the opportunity equal, it is argued, it may be necessary to make education something more than equal. It may be necessary to compensate for the handicaps if we are to provide education of equal quality. It may be necessary to change the educational method and create new models in order to meet the learning need and style of the youngster who comes to school out of a different background of experience.

For almost twenty-five years, hanging near my desk has been a print of the beautiful Thomas Hart Benton drawing which he aptly titled "Instruction." This sensitive drawing of an old Black man with his tattered books, papers, clothing and surroundings is shown working at the task of helping a young Black child to learn. It symbolizes an endeavor to which a host of persons, before and after this simple soul, have devoted their efforts — some enthusiastically and with skill, others reluctantly and with incompetence. Would that the problems of teaching and learning were as simple as the spirit Benton captures in this drawing. Too many Black children fail to master the traditional learning tasks of schooling. Too many Puerto Rican, Chicano and native American (American Indian) children are failed in our schools. Children from minority groups and low income families are over represented among our schools' failures. Why?

The problems involved in the equalization of educational achievement patterns across economic and ethnic groups continue to defy solution. The attempts at describing, evaluating and interpreting these problems and the efforts directed at their solution are frequently confusing. Over the past several years a variety of special programs have been developed to improve the educational achievement of disadvantaged children. These programs have spanned a range from preschool through college; their special emphases have included special guidance services to experimental curriculums; they have grown from a few special efforts in the great cities to nation-wide, federally sponsored programs supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Thousands of special programs have been spawned. Ten billion and more dollars have been spent over the past six years. Yet despite all of this activity, there is little evidence to suggest that we have come close to solving the problems of educating large numbers of ethnic minority group and poor white children.

The relative lack of success of these efforts at upgrading academic achievement in the target populations has resulted in some criticizing of the educational services provided, but has also resulted in a renewal of old arguments in support of the explanation of differences in the level of intellectual function across ethnic groups based on alleged inferior genetic traits in lower status groups. Neither of the simplistic approaches to understanding the problems or fixing the blame for our failure to make school achievement independent of ethnic or social class is adequate.

The problems of educating Black and other disadvantaged populations who have been accidentally or deliberately, but always, systematically deprived of the opportunity for optimal development is far more complex. The problem of equalizing educational achievement across groups with differential economic, political and social status may confront us with contradictions which defy resolution. Adequate understanding and appropriate planning for an attack upon these problems will require that attention be directed to several issues. Among these are (1) the problems related to differential patterns of intellectual and social function as well as varying degrees of readiness in multivariant populations served by schools whose programs are too narrowly conceived and too inflexible to provide the variety of conditions for learning dictated by the characteristics of the children served; (2) the problems related to the conditions of children's bodies and the conditions of their lives which may render them incapable of optimal development and which may seriously interfere with adequate function; (3) the problems related to ethnic, cultural and political incongruencies between the schools and their staffs on the one hand, and the children and communities served on the other; and (4) the problems related to the public schools as social institutions which have never been required to assume responsibility for their failures and thus become accountable to the society and its specific members whom they serve.

**Differential Characteristics and Differential Treatments**

Despite the long history in education of concern with meeting the special needs of individual children and the highly respected status of differential psychology as a field of study, schools have made little progress in achieving a match between the developmental patterns, learning styles and temperamental states of learners and the educational experiences to which they are exposed. A great deal of attention has been given to differences in level of intellectual function. This is reflected in the heavy emphasis on intelligence testing and the placement, even "tracking," of pupils based on these tests. This tradition has emphasized quantitative measurement, classification and prediction to the neglect of qualitative measurement, description and prescription. These latter processes are clearly essential to the effective teaching of children who come to the schools with characteristics different from their teachers and the children to whom most teachers are accustomed. Our research data indicate wide variations in patterns of intellectual and social function across and within subpopulations. These variations in function within privileged populations may be less important because of a variety of environmental factors which support adequate development and learning. Among disadvantaged populations where traditional forms of environmental support may be absent, attention to differential learning patterns may be crucial to adequate development.

Some workers in the field have given considerable attention to differential patterns of language structure and usage. For example, importance has been attached to "Black English" or the dialects of Black peoples as possibly contributing to low academic achievement. These indigenous language forms are viewed by some as obstacles to be overcome. Others view them as behavioral phenomena to be utilized in learning. Workers holding the former position stress the teaching of "standard English" or English as a second language. Those holding the latter view emphasize the adaptation of learning experiences and materials to the indigenous language of the child. The debate is probably not important except as it may reflect respect or lack of respect for the language behavior of the learner. What may be more important than the fact of language difference is the role that language behavior plays in the learning behavior of the specific child. To understand and utilize that relationship in the education of the child requires more than teaching him how to translate "Black English" into standard English and requires more than making him a more proficient utilizer of the indigenous language. Understanding the role of one set of behaviors as facilitators of more comprehensive behaviors is at the heart of differential analysis of learner characteristics and differential design of learning experiences. Schooling for Black children, indeed for all children in our schools, comes nowhere near to meeting these implied criteria. Assessment technology has not seriously engaged the problem. Curriculum specialists are just beginning to, in some of the work in individually prescribed learning.

**Life Conditions: Health, Nutrition and Learning**

Contemporary research provides evidence of a variety of behaviors and conditions which are encountered in children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds with sufficient frequency to justify the conclusion that they are either induced by or nurtured by conditions of poverty. The excellent studies by Knobloch and Pasamanick of the relationships between health status and school adjustment in low-income Negro children in Baltimore, by Lashof of health status and services in Chicago's South Side and by Birch of health status and related learning patterns in an entire age group of school children in Aberdeen, Scotland, also of the health status of children from idigent families in the Caribbean area, provide mounting evidence in support of the hypothesis that there exists a continuum of reproductive errors and developmental defects significantly influenced by level of income. According to this hypotheses the incidence of reproductive error or developmental defect occurs along a continuum which the incidence of error or defect is greatest in the population for which medical, nutritional and child care are poorest and the incidence least where such care is best.

These studies point clearly to the facts that:

(1) nutritional resources for the mother-to-be, the pregnant mother and fetus, and the child she bears are inadequate;

(2) except for the Aberdeen population studied by Birch, representing a society in which health care is considered a right, not a privilege, and is available to all, medical care—prenatal, obstetrical and postnatal—is generally poor;

(3) the incidence of subtle to more severe neurologic defects is relatively high in low-income children;

(4) case finding, lacking systematic procedures, is hit or miss, leaving the child not only handicapped by the disorder but frequently with no official awareness that the condition exists;

(5) family resources and sophistication are insufficient to provide the remedial and/or compensatory supports which can spell the difference between handicap and competent function.

These health-related conditions are thought to have important implications for school and general social adjustment. We know that impaired health or organic dysfunction influences school attendance, learning efficiency, developmental rate, personality development, etc. Pasamanick attributes a substantial portion of the behavior disorders noted in this population to the high incidence of subtle neurologic disorders. Silver relates a variety of specific learning disabilities to mild to severe neurologic abnormalities in children. Lustman and Greenberg have noted the relationship between frequent or chronic illnesses and poor school achievement. Clearly, adequacy of health status and adequacy of health care in our society are influenced by adequacy of income, leading to the obvious conclusion that poverty results in a number of conditions directly referrable to health and indirectly to development in general.

**Cultural, Ethnic and Political Incongruencies**

Ethnic and economic integration in education for a brief while appeared to be a possible solution to underachievement in lower status children. The data seem to indicate that academic achievement for Black children improves when they are educated in middle-class and predominantly white schools. It is not at all clear that ethnic mix makes the difference. However, the evidence overwhelmingly supports an association between separation by economic group and school achievement with low economic status being associated with low school achievement. Consistently, poor children attending school in poor neighborhoods tend to show low level school achievement.

Before-and-after studies of desegregated schools have also tended to show that achievement levels rise with desegregation, although the exact interplay of reactions leading to this result has not yet been conclusively defined. For example, the process of desegregation may, by improving teacher morale or bringing about other changed conditions, result in an overall increase in the quality of education throughout the system. There have been a number of studies examining the possible relationship of integration (along racial or status group lines) and achievement, and the overall results of these efforts appear to demonstrate that children from lower status groups attending schools where pupils from higher status families are in the majority attain improved achievement levels, with no significant lowering of achievement for the higher status group. However, when children from higher status groups are in the minority in the school, there tends not to be an improvement in the achievement of the lower status group.

Although these findings are generally supported in mass data compiled from large-scale populations, studies of minority group performance under experimental conditions of ethnic mix suggest a need for caution in making similar observations for smaller populations and individual cases. From these findings it becomes clear that the impact of assigned status and perceived conditions of comparison (that is, the subjects' awareness of the norms against which their data will be evaluated) results in a quite varied pattern of performance on the part of the lower status group subjects. Thus, it may be dangerous to generalize that across-the-board economic and social class integration will automatically result in positive improvement for the lower status group.

To further complicate the picture a new renaissance in cultural nationalism among all disadvantaged ethnic minorities has brought into question our assumptions concerning ethnic integration and education. In a society which has alternatingly pushed ethnic separation or ethnic amalgamation and which has never truly accepted cultural and ethnic pluralism as its model, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and American Indians are insisting that the traditional public school is not only guilty of intellectual and social but cultural genocide for their children. For many members of these groups the problem in education for Blacks is that they have been subjected to white education which they see as destructive to Black people. When one views this argument in the context of the current stage in the development of craft unionism in education, the position cannot be ignored. The conditions and status of professional workers in education are justly the concern of their unions but Blacks increasingly view the union concern as being in conflict with their concern for their children's development. That in NYC the workers are predominantly white makes it easy for the conflict to be viewed as ethnic in origin unless one looks at the situation in Washington, D.C., where Negroes are heavily represented in the education staff, but some of the problems between

professionals and clients are no less present.

There are class and castes conflicts to which insufficient attention has been given in the organization and delivery of educational services. If cultural and ethnic identification are important components of the learning experience, to ignore or demean them is poor education. If curriculum and delivery systems do not take these factors into account, inefficient learning may be the result. One would hope that Black education by Black educators is not the only solution, yet we are being pressed to no longer ignore it as a possible solution.

Would that the problems ended even there. It may well be that what has surfaced as cultural nationalism may be only the wave crest of a more important issue. Public schools as social institutions have never been required to assume responsibility for their failures. They, nonetheless, eagerly accept credit for the successes of their students. This may be related in part to the functions that schools serve in modern societies. The noted anthropologist, Anthony Wallace, has discussed the differential attention given to training in technique, education for morality, and the development of intellect in societies which are revolutionary, conservative or reactionary. For more than one hundred years the United States has been a conservative society — liberal in its traditions but essentially conservative in its functions. Some of us fear that conservatism is giving way to a reactionary stance. According to Wallace, the conservative society places highest emphasis on training in techniques, with secondary attention to morality and the least attention to the development of intellect. He sees society in its revolutionary phase as placing greatest emphasis on morality, with second-level interest on the development of intellect and the least attention given to training in technique. Schools may not have developed a tradition of accountability because techniques and skills may be the least difficult of the learning task to master, if the conditions for learning are right. For large numbers of the children who have progressed in the mastery of technique their status in the society has facilitated technique mastery. The schools have presided over this process. Our society, in its conservative phase, has felt no need to press the issue of accountability, but Blacks, other minority groups and poor people increasingly see revolution (radical change) as the only ultimate solution to the problems and conditions in which their lives are maintained. As such, their concern with schooling may more sharply focus on issues related to morality and intellectual development, broadly defined — concerns which the schools have never been competent to meet. If circumstance has converted these concerns to educational needs, the schools then, in their present form, are ill prepared to educate these young people whose ideals and goals are revolutionary, not conservative, and certainly not reactionary.

Let us return to the purpose of education in a democratic society. If that purpose is to broaden opportunities for meaningful participation in the mainstream of society through the development of necessary skills and credentials, then educational opportunity is unequal unless it serves that purpose for all learners. At any point in the history of a society, the minimum educational goals are defined by the prerequisites for meaningful participation or for economic, social, and political survival. The educational experience can and should enable many persons to go far beyond the development of such survival skills but it cannot be considered to have provided equality of opportunity unless it enables nearly all to reach the survival or participation level. These survival or participation skills (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966) likely to be required in the emerging period include:

1. **Mastery of basic communications skills:** While physical strength and manual skill represented man's basic tool of survival in years past, it is increasingly clear that communication skills have emerged as the survival tool of the future. Education for all in our society must be built upon the mastery of basic skills in symbolic representation and utilization. Such skills include speech, reading, writing, and arithmetic computation.

2. **Problem solving:** A second tool of survival, somewhat less critical than the basic skills, is skill in the movement from anxiety, confusion, and disorder to problem formulation. This involves competence in problem identification and problem solving.

3. **The management of knowledge:** Knowledge of the physical, biological, and social sciences is so vast as to preclude complete content mastery by any single person. Knowledge of the dimensions of these fields, mastery of their principles, skill in the creation or discovery of order or pattern in their data, and competence in the management and utilization of this knowledge are urgently needed survival tools.

4. **Employment, leisure and continuing education:** Theobald sees the world of the future as one where achievement through physical work

will no longer be a prime requirement in society. Utilization of leisure will emerge as a central problem. Rapidly changing technology is destroying the lifetime career in a single vocation (Harrington). Today's children may as adults often change not only jobs but kinds of work and will be required to make quick adaptation to radically different work situations. The demand will be for trainability and continuing education throughout one's life span in the labor force. However, if some of the projections hold true many of today's young people as adults will live in a society which no longer rewards physical work. The new society may reward instead self-expression through art, through interaction with nature, through social interchange and through symbolization and ideation as art forms. Creative self-expression may become important for vocational utilization as well as for aesthetic purposes.

5. **Self-Management:** The achievement of goals such as these will involve the schools in activities more explicitly directed at personal, social and character development. It may require a more adequate understanding of self and others than is usually achieved. It may mean that we give greater attention to the use and control of one's self in interpersonal relations. It may make essential, wider adaptions to multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies. It may give added urgency to conflict resolution through avenues of non-violence and the development of appreciative and respectful relationships with the world of nature, of man-made objects, of ideas and values.

With education defining its concerns in such broad terms it seems obvious that the school must speak to the academic, emotional, and social developmental needs of pupils. Some children will be better at some of these learnings than at others. Differential levels of achievement will certainly result. But these differences need not be solely determined by cultural, economic, or ethnic origins. Rather achievement should reflect variations in the quality of intellect found in all groups and variations in the adequacy of the learning experiences to which they are exposed. Democratically administered educational programs combined with enlightened educational practices should insure that basic competencies are universally achieved.

Equality of educational opportunity would mean the achievement of at least these basic competencies in all pupils save the 3% to 5% who are truly mentally defective. To make the opportunity equal, the school would have to develop and use whatever methods, materials, or procedures are required by the special style, special ability or special background the child may bring. That the school may not yet know what and how to do this is a part of the problem. That it accept the challenge to pose the question and actively pursue solutions is the issue at hand.

Equal opportunity is being defined in terms of individualized input and baseline commonality of output. Where what children bring to the school is unequal, what the school puts in must be unequal and individualized to insure that what the shcool puts out is at least equal at the basic levels of achievement. Equalization of educational opportunity in a democracy requires parity in achievement at a baseline corresponding to the level required for democratic participation. It also demands opportunity and freedom to vary with respect to achievement ceilings. It is in the reconciliation of this paradox of contradiction that equality of opportunity is tested. It may sometimes be necessary to favor universality to the disadvantage of uniqueness. At other times universality may need to be sacrificed in the interest of unique achievement. When preferential position is continuously given to one, equality of opportunity is precluded.

This paper represents a combination of two papers previously published in part as:

"Toward Defining Equality of educational Opportunity," Prepared as a member of the Harvard Faculty Seminar on the Equality of Educational Opportunity Report, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 1968.

"Are Our Schools Too Conservative to Teach Minorities Effectively?" *New York Times Annual Education Review, Jan. 11, 1971.*

Dr. Gordon's presentation at the Seattle Conference was an informal talk based on these papers primarily as synthesized here.

Registered Participants
For The Equal
Educational Opportunity Workshop
For Human Rights Workers*

Robert L. Albert
Tufts University
Medford, Massachusetts

Lisette M. Anderson
American Red Cross
San Francisco, California

Gilbert Anzaldua
Oregon Board of Education
Portland, Oregon

Clarence C. Austin
Nashville, Tennessee

Eloise H. Banks
State Department of Education
Phoenix, Arizona

Glenn Black
Montgomery County Public Schools
Department of Human Relations
Rockville, Maryland

Susan Bing
Assistant City Manager
Jackson, Michigan 49203

George Bowers
Toppenish, Washington

Roy L. Caldwell
The School Board of Polk County
Florida

Joseph F. Chiotti
Tacoma Public Schools
Tacoma, Washington

William W. Colby
Department of Public Instruction
Madison, Wisconsin

Laurence W. Coles
Madison, Tennessee

Alfred Fain
U.S. Office of Education
San Francisco, California

George Fallis
Tacoma Public Schools
Tacoma, Washington

Dudley Flood
North Carolina Education Agency
Raleigh, North Carolina

Roland H. Ganges
Baltimore City Public Schools
Baltimore, Maryland

Ernestine Given
Seattle Public Schools
Seattle, Washington

Janet Guren
Madrone School
Seattle, Washington

John Gomez
New Haven Unified School District
Union City, California

Nina Haines
Human Relations Commission
Jackson, Michigan

Neil Hansen
Seattle Public Schools
Seattle, Washington

Thomasine Hardy
North Carolina State Department of
Public Institution
Raleigh, North Carolina

Gerald Henderson
Commission on Human Rights
Lincoln, Nebraska

Gerald Hunter
Intergroup Education Consultant
Stockton, California

Ruth Jeffries
Teacher Corps
Tacoma, Washington

Fletcher Jenkins
School District #10
Tacoma, Washington

Eunice M. Johnson
Stadium High School
Tacoma, Washington

Howard Johnson
Washington State Human Rights
Commission
Seattle, Washington

Mary Kashiwag
Seattle Public Schools
Seattle, Washington

Phil Lawson
Methodist Inner City
Kansas City, Missouri

James Lewis
California Teachers Association
Burlingame, California

Henrietta S. Mathews
Seattle Public Schools
Mercer Island, Washington

Reeves McGlohan
North Carolina State Education Agency
Raleigh, North Carolina

Roger McNeely
Seattle Urban League
Seattle, Washington

George Miller
Jason Lee Junior High School
Tacoma, Washington

W.R. Nordos, Administrator
N.Y. State Education Department
Division of Intercultural Relations
Albany, New York

C.J. Patterson, Jr., Director
Division of Race Relations
Board of Education
Memphis, Tennessee

Claude G. Perkins
Clark County School District
Las Vegas, Nevada

Van Petitt
Seattle Urban League
Seattle, Washington

M.E. Proby
State Civil Rights Commission
Colorado Springs, Colorado

W.W. Read
Superintendent of Schools
The School Board of Polk County
Florida

Tomas Reveles
Office of Education
Seattle, Washington

Richard H. Reynolds
The Junior College District of St. Louis
St. Louis County, Missouri

Vern Robertson
Consultative Center
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Arlene E. Seneca
Phoenix Union High School System
Phoenix, Arizona

Marianne Sheridan
Alaska Department of Labor
Juneau, Alaska

Beatrice Slider
Oakland Public Schools
Oakland, California

Dr. Morton J. Sobel
State Education Department
Albany, New York

Thelma Soltman (J.C.)
Tacoma Public Schools
Tacoma, Washington

Punkin Stephens
Washington State Attorney General
Seattle, Washington

Douglas M. Still, Executive Secretary
United Ministers in Public Education
Washington, D.C.

John Strickler
Florida School Desegregation Center
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Vernell Sturns
Director of Human Resources
Lawrence, Kansas

Dick Thurston
Title IV, Tacoma Public Schools
Tacoma, Washington

Joel A. Turetzky
Board of Education
Memphis, Tennessee

Edward J. Valeau
Teacher Consultant
San Mateo, California

Samuel White
Employment Security Department
Seattle, Washington

Robert L. Williams
Seattle Public Schools
Tacoma, Washington

Alfred Wilson
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Pamela Wilson
Center for Desegregation and Conflict
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Roger Winston
Human Relations Specialist
San Mateo, California

Jim Wright
EEO Commission
Madison, Wisconsin

Van Wright
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Clark M. Younger
Department of Education
Trenton, New Jersey

*Non-registered participants were not recorded. A few registrants for whom insufficient information was available have also been omitted.

**ANNOUNCEMENT**

NAHRW ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1972 – Kansas City, Missouri
October 3 – October 7, 1972
Conference Headquarters: Hotel Muelhebach
CONFERENCE THEME: Human Rights 1970's – The Presidential Years 1972 – 1976

Contact: NAHRW Conference Chairman
c/o Alvin Brooks
Department of Human Relations
City Hall, 26th Floor
414 East 12th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

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The National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity
Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027